1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan 1802
F
*698
461
579
A
F
658
212
177
A
F
*698
702
*175
A
F
346
797

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village." [26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807 [29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Bunridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

[P. 72 (B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220-245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61-67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11-13.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

212 THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

[173] Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The 422 nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.

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Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

532 Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

crescendo to give strength to the narrative, especially at the end of the tune, which invariably winds up in the tonic. The intervals which are of most frequent occurrence in the Ainu tunes are as follows:—

The tunes seldom contain modulations from one key into another, except in the case of genius-gifted improvisators, who sometimes indulge in such a luxury, especially when intoxicated; but the usual modulation is generally begun *pianissimo* and in irregular time, and is sometimes like a slow lamentation gradually and irregularly increasing in force, some notes marked violently and the next very faintly, thus giving a weird effect of light and shade. When a sentence comes to an end, there is a chromatic interval *fortissimo*, and the key-note generally concludes the tune. The melody repeats itself again in the next sentence, sometimes altering the *pianissimo* into *fortissimo*, and *vice versâ*, according to the force which the narrator wishes to give to certain words. The Ainu, as far as I could judge, have no fixed rhythmical method, and each man constructs his own. Their melodies are generally short and simple, and the same phrases and passages—in fact, usually the whole melody—occur again and again in their songs. No Ainu melody that I heard was constructed according to any rule of musical form. All were invariably of one part only, in which the name of the tune was often applied to a certain form of rude poetical composition. For instance, some of the folk-lore legends—which, unfortunately, are not purely Ainu—are chanted in a musical intonation, and are a kind of extempore composition, though the roots of the songs and the verse have probably been brought down from former generations. This is proved by the preservation in them of some obsolete words and forms of speech which are never used in current conversation, and which none of the younger folks can understand or explain. I believe, however that none of these legends are very old. The Ainu, having no written language, it is but natural that their tradition and legends should have been greatly changed and corrupted, especially by intercourse with the more imaginative Japanese.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

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horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)[1] is then incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and two on the two twisted shaven *inau* described above as affixed to the *shirikura inau* (Pl. II, fig. 2). Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.

In Kitami province, however, many *inau* bear signs cut on the stems indicating the kinds of *kamui* to which they are dedicated.[2] Rennuikesh, a native of the north, says that these are seals of truth for *shian inau*. Rennuikesh made for me examples representing the upper parts of various *inau*, and in them we see what might have been the beginning of writing. In Pl. V, fig. 5, we have Chup Kamui (*chu-pa*, shining thing) which stands for both sun and moon, though the sun is more in mind. Pl. V, fig. 4, represents Kanna Kamui. Another figure which may perhaps represent a tree (Pl. V, fig. 3) is for Shiri-koro Kamui (Shiramba Kamui). Deer horns signify Yuk-atte Kamui (Pl. V, fig. 1), who is besought for the increase of deer, and a fish (Pl. V, fig. 2) signifies Chep-atte Kamui, believed to promote abundance of fish. The little bunch of shavings on the winged *inau*, representing a wing (Pl. V, fig. 10), is the symbol of Ainu Satchiri Kamui, the spotted kingfisher, protector of rivers and their produce. *Itokpa* for Wakka-ush Kamui is shown on Pl. V, fig. 9; for Aoina Kamui on fig. 8; fig. 7 is for Abera-ra-shut, a *kamui* dwelling below the hearth; fig. 6 is the *itokpa* for Moshiri-kara Kamui.

Accompanying these probably decipherable signs are others of more enigmatic character. One nearly always present is a line running obliquely between two short and deep cuts, and slightly curved on the contour of the staff. Rennuikesh called it *chishitu konuye*, which might mean 'winding between mountain crests'. During my short trip in the north I met no elder who claimed to know its significance, yet several claimed it as a special sign of their own village. Other marks on these northern *inau* are, it has been suggested, representations of the footprints of bears, but I do not

[1] *Ekashi itokpa*, the male ancestral mark, is incised on objects of three kinds: the *kamui-nomi inau*, the *inau* used in the worship of *kamui*; the *kike-ush bashui*, a sacred wand with *kike* (shavings); the *hepere ai*, the arrow used to shoot the bear cub in the bear ceremony (Natori, *The Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo 1945), and, in some districts, on the arrows for bear hunting. In Chitose and Hilaka districts it was only used on the *kike-ush bashui* (Natori, *Journal of Anthropological Society of Japan*, Vol. 55, No. 5).—H.W.

[2] These are called *kamui-itokpa*, and are incised on certain *inau* with *ekashi-itokpa* as well.—H.W.

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent.

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function.

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks, as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye.

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the great *inau* of Hash-inauuk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house.

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

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778 782 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of [201] pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 ●212 532 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the underside are found on most household specimens and are the owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-hashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to [796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un [184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.